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ABSTRACT

This is an introductory study of the mutual intelligibility among the various dialects and languages in the Manitowinini family. Specific languages considered include Powhatan, Lenape, Natick, Otchipwe, and Nanticoke. The goal of the study is not merely to comprehend inter-tribal relations better, but also to discover the actual socio-political-ethnic status of peoples along the Atlantic Coast before 1700. The study is not a linguistic one designed to shed light on the technical aspects of the evolution of the Manitowinini languages. It is essentially a comparative analysis of the use of 135 words. Results indicate that the Manitowinini peoples from New England through North Carolina could communicate with each other without learning each other's idioms, at least as far as Powhatan, Lenape and Natick are concerned. (CLK)

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Wapanakamikok Language Relationships: An Introductory Study of Mutual Intelligibility Among the Powhatan Lenape, Natick, Nanticoke, and Otchipwe Languages

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Preface

This study is a preliminary one, designed to stimulate further research. It represents only a very small part of the work which I have been doing relating to the Powhatan (Renape) language. Little by little, I am analyzing every word still known from the Powhatan language, in order to be able to bring our speech back into full vitality. Already significant progress has been made in this regards.

I am also analyzing all of the native place-names of northern North Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, and Delaware because these place-names are vital clues to the nature of the Powhatan language and to the geographical distribution of dialects. As a part of this work, I am also comparing Powhatan place-names with other Wapanakamikok place-names from New Jersey, New England and other areas. A future study will focus on this area of research.

Powhatan personal names are also being gathered from every possible source and they too will be analyzed.

The complete reconstruction of the Powhatan language ultimately will depend upon all types of data -- word lists, phrases, songs, sentences, prayers, place-names, and personal names. No one set of data, by itself, will be adequate.

This introductory comparative study is an essential part of the total process since we must understand the relationship of Powhatan to closely-related languages, some of which are still widely-spoken and can serve to provide insight into parts of the Powhatan language legacy which have been lost.

Jack D. Forbes
Indian Neck, Rappahannock
Indian Homeland, Virginia
March, 1972.

I. Introduction

Linguists have studied the languages of the Manitowinini (Algonkian) Indian people for many years, however, the results have been of little value insofar as Native Americans are concerned.[1] Similarly, the results have not been of substantial use for other anthropologists or historians.

Indian people are in need of useful dictionaries, basic grammars (written in plain language), and reading materials (such as school texts). Such materials do exist in some of the Manitowinini languages but they have been prepared by Indians or non-Indians who are usually not linguists.

Anthropologists and historians studying the relations of various groups need to possess accurate knowledge of the degrees of relatedness of the various dialects and languages in the Manitowinini family. For example, when the Leni-Lenape, Nanticoke, Shawunog, Minsi, and Mahikani were living together in the Ohio area were they able to understand each other readily? Were their dialects close enough for easy communication or did they have to become multi-lingual or perhaps use one of the dialects as a common medium? And how did the eastern Manitowinini communicate with the Omaumeg, with the Ottawak, with the Otchipwe, and with the Kikapuak? Could they converse, or did they have to learn each others dialects? If the latter, how long did it take to become sufficiently skilled for inter-group communication?

The student of eastern Nishnabe[2] (Indian) history also needs to be able to understand the degree of relatedness among the several Manitowinini languages in order to be able to comprehend the tendency toward over-all unity which seems to have affected most Manitowininiwok[3] in their relations with outsiders (such as Iroquoians and Siouans).

It is very important, then, that we attempt to deal with the problem of "mutual intelligibility," that is, to what degree could Powhatan (Renape) people understand Leni-Lenape (Delaware) people? It is important that we do this not merely to comprehend inter-tribal relations better but also because we need to make use of every tool which will help us to discover the actual socio- political- ethnic- status of peoples along the Atlantic Coast before 1700.

The present manner in which anthropologists divide up the Wapanakamikok[4] (Dawn Country Peoples) -- into such groups as Pampticos, Powhatans, Conoys, Nanticokes, Delawares, et cetera, is largely a figment of the imagination. It is quite clear that the Manitowininiwok from Pamptico Sound in North Carolina to the Pawtuxent River in Maryland spoke only dialects of the same language. Ethnically they were one people (Renapok in the plural). Politically they were divided into a number of confederacies, some loose, some more formal. The larger confederacies were further divided into republics. These republics sometimes consisted in a union of many villages (such as with the Chickahominy) and sometimes consisted in only one major village with a few satellite settlements. In turn, each village possessed considerable autonomy.

We do not now know the historic relationship of the natives of the Eastern Shore of Maryland and of southern Delaware (the so-called Nanticokes) to the Leni-Lenape in the north and the Renape groups to the west and south. It seems quite clear from the colonial documents that the Eastern Shore was not politically unified before 1700, since Choptanks, Nanticokes, Pocomokes, Wicomicos, and Assateagues behaved independently of each other. By and

large, also, we do not know what dialects these people spoke. John Smith found that the Tockwogh (Tukwok, or Tidal River People) at the extreme north spoke a dialect different from that of the Powhatans but how different is not clear. The "Nanticoke" word-lists obtained at a much, much later date may have been derived from people living on the Delaware side of the Eastern Shore and may tell us very little about the languages of the natives of the Chesepeake shore. Likewise, Leni-Lenape (Renapi, since they used the "r" in place of the "l") from the mouth of the Delaware River could well have migrated southwards to avoid white intrusion. If so, their speech might have influenced the later "Nanticoke" word-lists.

Anciently, there were a people known as the Kuskarawok - Nantikoke who lived along the Nanticoke River. In the 1700's they retreated eastwards where they merged with refugees from the rest of the Eastern Shore. Out of this merger came the later "Nanticoke" people who largely migrated (in the 1740's) to Pennsylvania. After the 1740's and until they disappeared into the Leni-Lenape, Stockbridge-Munsee, and Seneca peoples, a Nanticoke "tribe" did exist. But which of the many Eastern Shore dialects came to dominate? Which dialect contributed to the later word-lists or did several?

In any case, it is clear that our understanding of the socio- political- ethnic- situation along the Atlantic seaboard is very confused. Analysis of language to determine the degree of mutual intelligibility should be of some small help in shedding light on our ancient past.

Method of this Study

This study is not a linguistic study. It is not designed to shed light on the technical aspects of the evolution of Manitowinini languages. No attempt is made to use specialized terms or symbols, both because the study is written for non-linguists and also because the vocabularies used herein were written with ordinary symbols drawn from the English language (by and large).

My first objective in beginning this project was to find about 100 words which are represented in the available Powhatan, Leni-Lenape, and Natick word-lists. To achieve a random sample I initially selected words found in the lists in Gallatin's Synopsis of North American Indian Languages which are also to be found in Powhatan lists.[5] Later I arrived at a total of 135 words for comparative analysis, due to the fact that the Powhatan lists sometimes reveal two or more different terms for similar objects. To maintain objectivity and the "random sample" approach I felt that I should analyze most or all of the synonyms (so as to not fall into the error of analyzing only that synonym which readily yields a cognate in another language).[6]

The "random sample" approach is, I believe, necessary since many earlier workers with the Powhatan tongue (especially Gerard and Tooker) were inclined to analyze only those words which "prove" a particular thesis, i.e., that Powhatan is closest to Natick and/or Lenape (Tooker) or that Powhatan is closest to Cree (Gerard).[7] It would be very, very easy for me (now) to construct separate lists which might "prove" that Powhatan is closest to Natick, or to Lenape, or to Otchipwe, or to Cree. On the other hand, such an approach ultimately proves nothing.

Ideally, of course, it would be best to analyze all of the Powhatan words which we know of (probably 1,000 or more) however, such a task would be too time-consuming. A random sample of about 10% of the words

available should yield reasonably valid results.

My base-line for analysis has been the Powhatan language. For this reason, although I use 135 for comparisons between Powhatan, Natick, and Otchipwe, I use only 134 for Lenape comparisons and only 88 for Nanticoke comparisons. (This is because of the failure to locate one Lenape term and because of the poverty of the Nanticoke word-lists).

For purposes of the study I have chosen to regard Powhatan and Pamptico as a single language although I indicate with an asterisk words found only in the Pamptico lists.[8] I have also chosen to regard Narragansett and Natick as a single language although I indicate Narragansett words where they differ from Natick. My Leni-Lenape words are derived primarily from Leheigh Valley Unami dialects as recorded by Brinton and Zeisberger.

Our sources for information on the Powhatan language are, unfortunately somewhat defective (although better by far than for Nanticoke). I have relied principally upon the lists collected by William Strachey in ca. 1612, supplemented by John Smith's list and by occasional words found in other sources. I have used all available versions of Strachey's lists, including a reproduction of a handwritten manuscript.[9]

The Strachey and Smith lists suffer from a number of defects, such as: 1. they are written in an archaic English system of writing which is not always internally consistent, 2. they are often inaccurate as to English meanings (i.e., if an Englishman pointed to a duck and asked what it was called he might be given the name for a particular species of duck, a bird in general, a swimming on the surface of the water creature, a diving creature, a flying creature, a duck in general, or a nick-name based upon the noise the duck makes. For all of these, however the Englishman might write "duck"). 3. They are inaccurate as to verb tense quite often.

4. They are inaccurate as to personal pronouns or as to who is possessing or doing something. 5. They are incomplete.

This latter defect is the most serious, since it seems clear that Manitowinini languages possess many synonyms for the same object or action. They are rich languages indeed, especially since new words can be easily developed by an appropriate arrangement of prefixes, stems, and suffixes.

Our comparisons then yield (insofar as Powhatan is concerned) only a minimum figure for the degree of relationship with other languages. Our available word-lists represent only a fraction of the total vocabulary of the Powhatan language. Therefore, if we find for example, that 70% of our Powhatan and Natick words correspond positively it means only that this is the minimum potential percentage of positive correspondence.

That the percentages of relationships revealed by this study are only minimums is also due to the fact that Trumbull's Natick dictionary is not a complete dictionary of the Natick language, Brinton's dictionary of the Leni-Lenape language is not complete, and the Nanticoke word-lists are especially scanty (and subject to other gross defects).[10]

It should also be stressed that little is known of verbal inflections for the Powhatan and Nanticoke languages. Thus the analyses made herein relate primarily to nouns or noun-like words. This is not, however, considered to be too great a weakness since meaning can often be grasped with incorrect use of verb tenses, and our objective relates to meaning rather than precise identity.

The weakest aspect of this study rests in the process of determining if two or more words are "mutually intelligible" as to form and meaning. Individuals differ, of course, in their ability to see through slight

differences in pronunciation (for example, can most English-speaking persons comprehend küh = cow, kirche = church, mutter = mother, bier = beer, and vater [fater] = father. My guess would be that most persons would correctly guess mutter, bier, and vater but not küh and kirche).

I have used a "layman's common sense" approach, supplemented by the assumption that most eastern Nishnabe were used to listening to diverse dialects and were also able to easily grasp a simple difference in pronunciation. My procedure is to pronounce the word "out loud" both slowly and rapidly, to see if in my judgement, the words are intelligible. Some may differ with my technique, but at least it represents a beginning. The same 135 words can be used by others in tests conducted under a more rigorous and ingenious design.

I have occasionally had to make some "guesses" in the "meaning" part of this study, but they will become apparent from a glance at the tables.

In regard to pronunciation, it should be kept in mind that in the Manitowinini languages the following sounds are usually interchangeable: b and p, d and t, and k and g. Words written with a "tch" may not differ from words written with a "ts," and "sh" or a "ch" since the true sound may be intermediate and hard for an English-speaker to write out.

Another characteristic, generally of Manitowinini languages, is that there is a tendency to substitute r, l, n, and y and t for each other in certain positions, depending upon the dialect. The Powhatan language, for example, apparently did not use l (except rarely), but did make use of r, n, and t in places where Leni-Lenape (Unami dialect) used l. For example, attonce (arrow in Powhatan) attontz (bow[?] in Nanticoke), and alluns (arrow in Lenape). Other examples of sound shifts which occur are as

in the following:

	Powhatan	Lenape	Natick	Otchipwe	Nanticoke
dog	attemous (note: it may be that attem- is derived from a different root than allum and anum).	allum	anum (ayim in Narragansett)	anim animosh	
fat	wiraokawh	wilawioch-queu (rich woman)	wunogkoo (he is fat)	winin (fat in a negative sense).	
fingers (stem for)	tinch (or nidj)	linsch	nitch	nindj	
I, my	N' Near Net Nin	Nj	Nut Neen N	Nim Nind	Nee
five	paranske	palenach	(na)pana	no cognate	
person	ren-	len-	nin-	inin-	iin (?)

One problem apparent in the Powhatan word-lists is that r is not uniformly substituted for Lenape l and Natick-Otchipwe n.[11] In fact, a true r may be relatively rare in Powhatan and it seldom occurs as a substitute for l, n, or y at the beginning of words.

When r appears in Powhatan as an initial sound it is usually in a word which should begin with a w, as in the following:

tomorrow	riapok raiab-uimauh	wapanke woapank woapaneu woapinge	tomorrow (Lenape) Wapoke (Proto-Algonkian)
day	rawcosough Raioawk	woachejeu (clear light, Lenape)	Wakeshka (it is shining, Natick)

("Rawcosough" should be Waw-keskow = this Sun, or w'kusso = his heat).

	reihcawh	(night) wihquai	(moon-light, Natick)
	rossoun	(wind) wessin	(wind, Natick)

It may be that the Powhatans pronounced some initial w's in such a way as to lead to confusion with r in European ears.

It has been argued by some that Virginia had several dialects including a "t dialect" based upon Tappahanoc (Tapi-hanek) as opposed to an "r dialect" based upon Rappahannock. The evidence of place-names, on the other hand, shows that "r" was used from Pamptico to Maryland with few obvious breaks. Likewise, the documentary evidence makes no mention of any significant dialectical changes from the south side of James River to southern Maryland.

It may well be that Gerard's confusion arose from the fact that Rappahannock should really be pronounced "Wapa-han-ok" (White Stream People) and is a different word from Tapi-han-ek (Sufficient Stream People, i.e., place with plenty of water). It is significant in this connection that the English have usually referred to the Rappahannock River and people by that name while at the same time preserving the place or village name of Tappahannock for a locale on that River.

Many (but not all) Powhatan words which should begin with w (as with Wap- (white or light), leave off the w. Whether this was due to poor listening on the part of the English or to a genuine dropping of the initial w as in Cree is not certain. Since it is sometimes used (as in egg = owaugh, wouwh, and woock [fish eggs]) and sometimes not it is probably an Englishman's error.

One other characteristic of Manitowinini languages needs to be mentioned in relation to a comparative reading of the tables. The reader will note that objects or persons which can be possessed (as in "my friend" or "my body") may either begin with n-, w-, m-, or k-. The use of one or another of these different prefixes does not indicate a sound shift but simply refers to a possessive relationship. For example, netop = my friend and wetop = his friend; while metawke = somebody's ear, netawke = my ear, and wehtauog = his ear. Thus, many such terms begin with an m- which is not really a part of the stem but is a prefix denoting possession (by no one in particular). Powhatan and Natick are similar in the common use of this prefix, while Lenape appears to ordinarily use w- (his) to refer to a possessed item belonging to no one in particular.

Previous Analyses of Relationships

No one appears to have intensively studied the relationship of the Powhatan language to Lenape, Natick, or any other Manitowinini tongue. Gerard, as indicated earlier, sought to prove that a "t" dialect existed and that it showed affinities with Cree. His rival in the pages of the American Anthropologist, William Wallace Tooker, attempted to show that Gerard was a poor although imaginative linguist. Tooker agreed with J. Hammond Trumbull who had expressed the opinion that Powhatan and Natick

were closely related. Trumbull said in 1870 that the "language of the Powhatans was nearly the same as that of the tribes of southern New England ... the Powhatan and Massachusetts [Natick] did not differ more from each other than either differed from the Delaware." In 1872 Trumbull stated that "there is less difference between the dialects of New England and the Powhatan of Virginia than between either of these and the 'Leni-Lenape' of Zeisberger," (i.e., the Leni-Lenape used in the Moravian missions of the Leheigh Valley area).[12]

J. P. Harrington expressed the opinion (without presenting evidence) that Powhatan was "merely a dialect" of Lenape.[13] My own research using Trumbull's Natick dictionary has convinced me that his knowledge of the eastern Manitowinini languages was superior to that of any of the other persons cited above. His opinion that Natick and Powhatan were closely related, therefore, deserves careful consideration.

In 1941 Frank T. Siebert Jr. analyzed the manner in which certain "consonant clusters" have changed over the years from the ancient Manitowinini common language (called "Proto-Algonkian") to the modern languages. According to his analysis, Proto-Algonkian "thk" changes to "sk" in Powhatan, "xk" in Lenape, "sk" in Natick, "kk" in Otchipwe, and "sk" in Cree, while "xk" changes to "sk" in Powhatan, "hVk" in Lenape, "hk" in Natick, "kk" in Otchipwe, and "sk" in Cree, and "xp" changes to "hp" in Powhatan, "hVp" in Lenape, "hp" in Natick, "pp" in Otchipwe, and "sp" in Cree.

On the basis of the supposed Powhatan resemblance to Cree in the case of xk = sk, Siebert states:

> This fact is of great importance for an understanding of the early history of the Algonkian peoples. Cree, spoken in the boreal zone of North America from the St. Lawrence to the Rocky Mountains, is at one margin of the Algonkian

> speech area, while Powhatan, in the extreme Southeast, is at the other. No wave theory of sound developments can account for the linguistic traits of Powhatan; instead, an early prehistoric migration is indicated. It seems that the Powhatan group had moved southward along the Atlantic Coast from the St. Lawrence region when the remainders of the Algonkian peoples all resided west of the Appalachians.

The biggest problem, however, with Siebert's grand theory is that of the ten examples he uses to illustrate a shift from "xk" only two utilize Powhatan cases whereas at least six might have. Unfortunately, the four he chose to overlook show a Powhatan shift from "xk" to "kk" or "hk" to wit:

1. a·xkw (wood, tree) to wutt-ugh (Natick) to meit-uc (Powhatan).
2. axkamekwe (ground to accomoco, -oughkamouck.
3. axkyi (earth) to ahque.
4. maxkesini (shoe), to mawhcasun, mowcasunneh, or mockasins.

The first example Siebert chose to use is: ana·xkye·wa (mat) to anasacoon (mat made of reeds). But Strachey also gives: ananson (mat), nissakan (reed), nisake (a cane), and nehsaakah (a reed). Siebert supposes that anansacoon is a mistake for Cree ana·ska-n. Perhaps that is the case, however the forms "nissakan" and "nisake" and "nehsaakah" tend to prove that the sequence in question is "sak" and not "sk."

Siebert's principal example is: wexka·ci (his leg) to meskott (leg). In this he may be correct, but it is clear that Powhatan is different from Cree (and more like Lenape, Otchipwe, and Natick) in four out of five clear examples above.

Siebert also refers to the following Cree-Powhatan resemblances:

1. athemwa (dog) to atim (Cree) to attem (Powhatan).
2. atho·nsi (?) (arrow) to atos (Cree) to attonce (Powhatan).
3. ni·mathawa (?) (man) to nimatewh, nematough (Powhatan).
4. atha·nkwa (star) to ata·he (Cree) to attaanqwassuwk (Powhatan, plural).

On the other hand, Trumbull argued that the "attem" of Powhatan might have been derived from a different root than that given by Siebert, since Abnaki possessed both an "atie" form and an "alem-" form. Likewise, the Powhatan "nimatewh" (also recorded as "nemarough") seems to mean "he is a brother" form "nimat" = brother.

It may well be that Powhatan (or certain dialects thereof) may resemble Cree in some instances, however, it seems very premature to create a migration thesis on the basis of such meager evidence and to ignore all other aspects of language resemblance as well as historical and cultural evidence.

It should be noted also that C. F. Voegelin uses examples of Proto-Algonkian "xk" which Siebert assigns to "thk." If Voegelin is correct, then Lenape would yield an "xk" reflex from "xk," as well as the "hVk" postulated by Siebert. There is an indication that Lenape formerly used "wiskat" for "his leg" (later "whika·t"). If that is correct, then Lenape would be the same as Powhatan in the phenomena of xk = sk in certain cases.

I would also note that perhaps we must be cautious in comparing Powhatan words of ca. 1612 with other words recorded in 1938 or so, at least insofar as sound-shift theories are concerned.[14]

In addition to the comparative study reported herein, I have also been gathering data for a comparative study of native place-names in the Wapanakamik region. Although the work is incomplete, my initial impression is that place-names found in the Virginia area are similar in general character to those of New Jersey and New England. In fact, some identical place-names are found in both the Chesepeake Bay area, New Jersey, and New

England (such as Piscataway -Piscataqua found in Virginia, Maryland, New Jersey, and along the Maine-New Hampshire border, and Mattapanient found in Virginia, Maryland, and Massachusetts).

The Languages Studied

I am of the tentative opinion, based upon preliminary research, that the languages from Massachusetts to North Carolina are more closely related to the Otchipwe-Algonkin-Ottawak-Potawatamik and Cree groups of languages than to any other Manitowinini idioms, with the possible exception of Wabanaki (Abnaki-Malecite-Penobscot-Passamaquoddy). For this reason I have chosen to compare Otchipwe with Powhatan, Lenape, and Natick, to determine the relative degree of intelligibility. I intend to compare Cree and Wabanaki at a later date.

The Results of the Study

The basic results of the study can be summarized as follows:

1. The Powhatan, Lenapé, Natick and Otchipwe languages, as a group, are mutually intelligible in 41% of the cases examined.
2. Natick and Otchipwe are 51.8% mutually intelligible.
3. Lenape and Otchipwe are 52.2% mutually intelligible.
4. Powhatan and Otchipwe are 54.8% mutually intelligible.
5. Powhatan, Lenâpe, and Natick, as a group, are mutually intelligible in 58.5% of all cases.
6. Powhatan and Lenape are 66.6% mutually intelligible.
7. Lenape and Natick are 68% mutually intelligible.
8. Powhatan and Natick are 71.6% mutually intelligible.

These figures include some doubtful cases, but they tend to balance out. For example, in ten cases Powhatan, Lenape and Natick are judged mutually intelligible but Powhatan and Lenape are somewhat closer than

either is to Natick. In nine cases the three idioms are judged mutually intelligible but Powhatan and Natick are somewhat closer than either is to Lenape. In two of the doubtful cases Natick and Lenape seem closer to each other than either is to Powhatan.

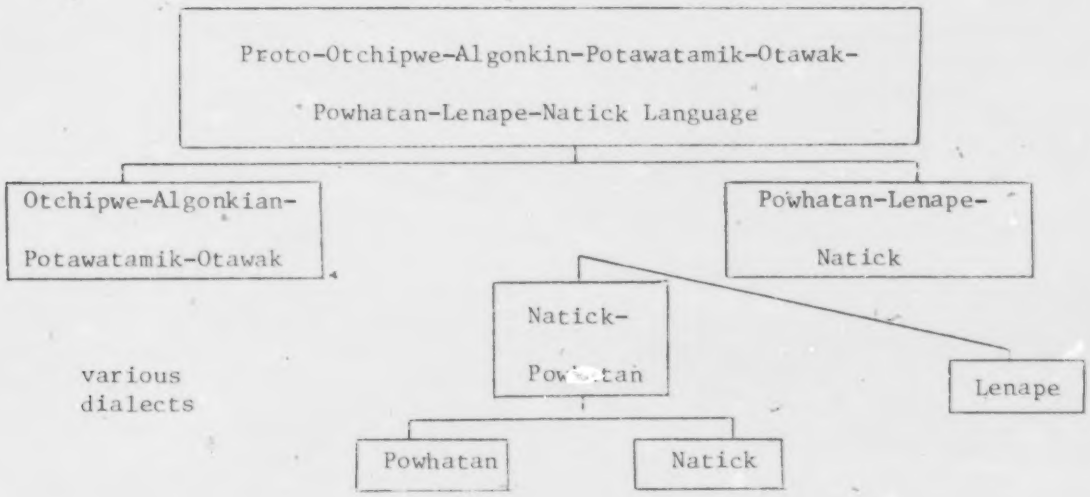
These results seem to lead to the following conclusions:

1. Powhatan and Natick are the most closely related of the idioms and are probably close enough to be considered as dialects of a single language.

2. Powhatan, Natick and Lenape are close enough as a group to perhaps be considered as dialects of a single language.

3. The relationship of Lenape, Natick and Powhatan to Otchipwe is rather close and seems to indicate that there is no sharp dividing line between the Great Lakes and Atlantic branches of the Manitowinini family, but rather only a gradual progression.

The picture which emerges can be expressed by the following tentative chart:



If, indeed, Powhatan, Lenape and Natick are but dialects of a single language, then I would propose that this language be known as the Wapanakamik language.

The case of Nanticoke has been reserved for separate comment because of the fact that the available word-lists are so poor and apparently so full of errors that the results of my analysis can only be very rough approximations.

An analysis of eighty-eight cases indicates the following:

1. Nanticoke is 30.7% intelligible with the entire Powhatan-Lenape-Natick group, considered as a whole.
2. Nanticoke is 36.3% intelligible with Lenape.
3. Nanticoke is 45.4% intelligible with Natick.
4. Nanticoke is 45.4% intelligible with Powhatan.
5. Nanticoke is 25% intelligible with Otchipwe.

As can be seen, Nanticoke bears about the same relative relationship to Natick, Lenape, and Otchipwe as does Powhatan, being closest to Natick and farthest from Otchipwe. I believe that we can disregard the lower percentages because of the poverty of the word-lists available and the resulting likelihood of apparently unique cases.

In any event, it is clear that Nanticoke is not a sub-dialect of Lenape. It seems more likely that it is a member of a Powhatan-Nanticoke-Natick sub-group within the Wapanakamik branch of the Manitowinini family.

Ethnohistorical Significance

It seems very likely that the Manitowinini peoples from New England through North Carolina could communicate with each other without learning each others idioms, at least insofar as the Powhatan, Lenape, and Natick are concerned. It seems also very likely that a few weeks exposure would have resulted in relative fluency in any of the studied languages or dialects, for any of the peoples concerned.

The results also serve, to a degree, to reinforce the tradition of Otchipwe-Algonkin-Potawatamik-Otawak migration from the Atlantic seaboard to the St. Lawrence River and thence to the Great Lakes and Ottawa River.

The results also suggest that the Lenape may have come to occupy a position geographically between the Powhatan and Natick at a relatively late date, whereas they may have anciently been near the Natick but not between the latter and the Powhatan. Such changes in relative position cannot be sketched out with any precision, however, until the southern Lenape (Renapi of Delaware Bay), Minsi, Mahikani, Montauk, Pequot, and other languages or dialects are analyzed and until all of the available historical, cultural, and archaeological data has been gathered together.

TABLE ONF

Comparison of Five Manitowinini Idioms

	Powhatan	Lenape	Natick	Otchipwe	Nanticoke
1.	Moc-cose* (awl/or needle) Mekkewh (bill, beak)	Mukoos (awl, nail) Mugóos	Mukqs (awl) Muhkos (nail, claw, talon)	Migȍss (awl)	
2.	Mese (arm) Musheis, Musses (wood, woods)	Mesák (building log) Metachen (firewood)	Mishash (wood?) Mussoo (it is dry)	Missan (wood) Misatig (club)	Neeshiz (wood) (Meeshiz?)
3.	Que quoy (Caqwaih) (what is this?)	Queq, Koeku, Kolku, Kolku-cet (what?) Keko	Chágwas, Chauguas (what)	Kagoo,(?) wegonen (what?)	
4.	Asqweowan, Usquion (arrow)	Achwon (forcible, violent) Áhon (strong to taste)	Chekee (violently) Ahchu (he strives after) Adcháonk (hunting)	Ashwiowin (weapons)	
5.	Attonce (arrow)	Alluns (arrow)	Kouhquodt (having a sharp point) Annún (he seizes)	Mitigwanwi (arrow)	Kullahow (arrow) Attontz (bow?)

	Powhatan	Lenape	Natick	Otchipwe	Nanticoke
6.	Mach-, Matah (bad, no)	Matchi (bad) Machtu Medhik, Methik (evil)	Matche (bad)	Matchi (bad)	Mattik (ugly)
7.	Aitowh (ball) Autowtaoh (ear of corn) Petaocawin (a bed)	Ftukhikan (round ball)	Autow (a bauble) Puttukqui (it is round)	Anwi (ball)	
8.	Manote (basket)	Tankhakan or Michtquin' otees (basket) Minootes (purse, bag)	Manôot or Mannóte (basket)	Watabimakak or Agokobin- agan (basket)	
9.	Momonsacqweo or Amonsoquath (bear), Maquó*(?) (small animal)	Machque (bear) -achque- (bear, in compositions)	Mosq, Mosk (bear) Momónesuog (they're spotted) Mimonchu (he moves about)	Makwa (bear) Amonsag (young bees)	Winquipim (bear)
10.	Messetonaance or Wysotonowans (beard)	Wuttoney, Witoonai, Wiechtuney (beard)	Weeshittoon (beard)	Mishidonagan (beard)	Neeweeght- quiwaah (beard)

	Powhatan	Lenape	Natick	Otchipwe	Nanticoke
11.	Pohkeuwh (beaver; to dive) Maquó (?)* (small animal) Kittamaquund (village on Potomac River, chief's name)	Ktemaque Amochk (beaver) Temakwe (beaver)	Tummunk Tummock Amisq (Muhican) (beaver)	Amik (beaver) Bókwaii (a b[illegible]n piece)	Nataque (beaver) (see hare)
12.	Kawwin, Cawwun (to sleep)	Gauwin (to sleep) Gauwi (sleep)	Kaéan (when you sleep) Kouénat (to sleep)	Ningawishim (I go to bed)	
13.	Nuppawe (sleep) Nepaun (to sleep)	Nipahwi (at night)	Nuppôo (he dies)	Nibawin (to sleep) Nin niba (I sleep)	Nupp (to sleep)
14.	Tshehip (bird)	Quiquingus (large, wild duck)	Quequecum Sesep (duck)	Jishib (duck)	Pissceques (bird)
15.	Pahcunnaioh (dark)	Pak'enum (dark) Pisg (dark, dusk)	Pohkenai (darkness)	Pashagishka (it is dark)	Puhsquaiwau (blue) Samp(oo) Somow (dark)
16.	Machcatawaiuwh (black)	Suksit, Sukeu (the black one, black) Machkachten (a coal of fire)	Môôi, Mówi- (black, shit) Sucki- (dark blue or black)	Makate (black) Makatéwa (it is black)	Oaskayu (black)

	Powhatan	Lenape	Natick	Otchipwe	Nanticoke
17.	Moich (shit) Moiee (foul, filth)	Mui (shit) Muichtee (same) -chee	Mooi (shit)	Mo (dirt, excrement)	
18.	Nehpaangunnu (blind)	Ngagepchoe (I am blind) Gakeapingo	N'póckunnum (I am blind)	Nin Gagibingwe (I am blind)	
19.	Oussawa (ik) Osawas (yellow)	Wisaweu (it is yellow) Wisawek (yellow, sulphur)	Weesoe, Wesaui (yellow)	Osawa (it is yellow)	Weesawayu (yellow)
20.	Osaih (blue?) -wusho or Wushowon (?) Osies (heavens)	Schiwapeu Ownay Wulih'ke (blue) Osí (on the other side)	Oonoi (blue or deep) Peshaui (blue)	Mijakwad (blue sky) Apissin (dark)	Puhsquaiwau
21.	Wuskan, Woskan (bone)	Wochgan (bone)	Wuskon (his bone)	Okan (his bone)	Wpisscan, Kann (bone)
22.	Attawp, Auhtab Hawtoppe (bow)	Hattape (bow)	Ahtomp, Ohtomp (bow)	Mitigwab (bow)	Attontz (bow?) (see arrow)
23.	Uscapees (Wuske-ape) (boy)	Wuskelenape (young person)	Wusken (wuske-omp) (young man)	Oshkinawg (young man) Oshki-nabe (young male)	Wahocki (boy)

	Powhatan	Lenape	Natick	Otchipwe	Nanticoke
24.	Appoan (bread)	Achpoan, Achpon (bread)	Appón (bake)	Nind abwen (I roast it)	app; pow (bread)
25.	Tshekehica-wwuns (broom)	Tschikhikan (broom)	Chekhikunk (it sweeps, broom)	Tchigataigan (broom)	
26.	Nemat (my brother)	Nimat, Nímatis (my brother)	Neemat (my brother)	Awema, Nikaniss (brother)	Ne-eemat (brother)
27.	Netab Netoppew (friend) Chamay, Chamah Chemuze (friend)	N'tschu Nítis (my friend) Nitshus (my feminine friend) Chemusi- (to flirt)	Netomp; Netop* (my friend)	Nidjikiwe Nikaniss Widjiwagan (brother, friend)	
28.	Aquointan, Aquomtan (canoe or small boat)	Anechwunaltey, Amochol (canoe) Achquoanan (to catch fish with a net	Peontaem (boat Ogwhan* (a boat adrift)	Agwindo (it floats partly in water) Tchiman (canoe) Nindagwindgin (I float partly in water) Nind agon (I float on surface)	

	Powhatan	Lenape	Natick	Otchipwe	Nanticoke
30.	Tamahack (hatchet)	Tumhican Temahikan (axe, hatchet)	Chichegin (hatchet) (hatchet)	Tchikahiganis Wagakwad	
31.	Taccahacan Tockahock (hatchet, pickaxe)	Tachquahoaken (to pound, grind)	Togkunk (that which strikes) Togkodteg (a stricking instrument)	Tagwaadonenak (mallet, axe)	
32.	Tshemacans (oar)	Tschimakan (paddle, oar)	Chémeck (paddle) Chemäü (he paddles or rows)	Ajeboianak (oars) Tchiman (canoe)	
33.	Opommins (chestnuts)	Woapim (chestnuts) Opim	Wómpimineash (chestnuts)	Kitchijawemin (chestnut) Wabanomin (rice)	
34.	Kanti-kan (sing and dance)	Kantiko, Gintkaan (to dance) Gintka (I dance and sing)	Konkont (crow, raven)	Nimiwin Nin giwitashim (to dance, I dance around something)	Zdocumb (to dance) Nuckandah (to sing)
35.	Amesens Amosens (a daughter)	Amemens (child) Wdanis (a daughter) Amoe (bee)	Wuttonis (?) Wut-taun-in (a daughter)	Odánissima (a daughter) Nindániss (my daughter)	Hunttawu

	Powhatan	Lenape	Natick	Otchipwe	Nanticoke
36.	Cuttepacus, [Necut-tepacus, one day?] Rawcosough [Waw-keshow (this sun) or W'-kusso (his heat)?] Raioawk (a day)	Gischquik Gijig, Gijiad (day) Woachijeu (light, clear) Ngut-tokuni (one night)	Mireussa (hear, red-hot cone) Necut-pahkesu (one clean or pure) Wayau (it was sunset) Kesuk, Kesukod (day) Wequai (light)	Wakeshka (it is shining) Gijig, (day) Waban (it is daylight)	Nucotucquon (one day) Ewapawg-up (today)
37.	Paspasat (morning)	Petapan (dawn) Pachsukquin (to rise up) Pasteu (it rises)	Páshpishont (sunrise)	Bidâban (dawn) Ompishkamagad (it rises on high)	Weschpa
38.	Pungwe, Pugguy (ashes)	Punk, Ponk (ashes, dust)	Pukquee (ashes, dust) Ponqque (dry)	Pingwi (ashes)	
39.	Pocohaac (awl, pin, needle, pestle)	Pokhammen (to break, make a hole)	Pohqui (it is broken)	Nin pagwaneige (I make a hole) Botaganak (pestle) Bok- (stem for breaking)	Pah'quun (turkey)

	Powhatan	Lenape	Natick	Otchipwe	Nanticoke
40.	Tsepaih (dead, to be dead)	Tschipey (spirit, dead body)	Chépeck (dead person)	Tchibai (dead person)	Tsee-e-p (dead man, ghost)
41.	Attemous (a dog)	Allum, Allumes (domestic dog, little dog) Dálamoos (my pet) Timmeu, Metimmeu (wolf, archaic) Timeh (wolf)	Anún, Ayim* (dog) Annun (he seizes) Attamunum (he takes it)	Anim, Animosh (dog)	
42.	Kuppenauk (a gate)	Kpahon (door)	Kuphómmin (to shut the door) Kuppuhhou (a door)	Nin gibawa (I shut him up in a hole) Ishkwandem (door)	
43.	Pisquaon Piscoend (a duck)	Pischk (night hawk) Pisgt- (dark, dusk, night) Piske (dark)	A'pishaug (pidgeon) Piskeu (double)	Páshkaweo panadju (small bird is hatched) Pashkandamo (a kind of bird)	Psquoiu (red) Puhsquoiwau (blue) Pisseeques (bird)
44.	Metawke (the ears) Weihtaws (animal ears)	Whittawak (ears)	Mehtáuog (ear) Wehtauog (his ear)	Otawagama (ear) Otawag (his ears)	Nucktowhuck (my ear)

	Powhatan	Lenape	Natick	Otchipwe	Nanticoke
45.	Woock (fisheggs) Owaugh, Wouwh (an egg)	Wahh (egg)	Wôu, Wöou (egg)	Wanan (egg) Wak (fisheggs)	Waawhy (egg)
46.	Wamat (enough) Wamattuwh (it is well or enough)	Wiakat Tschigantschi (enough) Wémi (all)	Wamut (there is eenough)	Mi, minik, Debisse (enough, there is enough)	
47.	-accomoco -oughkamouck (country?) Ahque (earth)	-hakamik, Haki (earth, land)	-awkamuck -aukamuck -ohkomuk (land, country) Oke, Auke (earth)	-akamik Aki (earth)	Ahkee (earth, land)
48.	Muskins (the eyes, eye) Muskin, Masket (to run)	Wuschgink Wuskingwal (eye) Wishking (eye)	Muskesuk (eye) Wuskesuk (his eye)	Oshkinjigoma Oshkinjig (his eye)	Nucks-skeeneequat (eye)
49.	Wiraokawh Wiroakawh (fat)	Wilawiochqueu (rich woman) Wisu, Wilsu (fat)	Wonogkôo (his is fat)	Winin (fat, note: win + is a negative attribute)	Wee-e-eat (handsome)

	Powhatan	Lenape	Natick	Otchipwe	Nanticoke
50.	Nows (my father) Kowse (your father)	Nooch, Noch Noh'h (my father) Ochwall (his or her father)	Nôôsh Nosh (my father) Kôôsh (thy father)	Nôsse (father)	Nowoze (father) Nosah (father)
51.	-tinge, -teindg, -teidg, - inge -nidg, -nige (-miy), -ningh -nske (endings indicating hands or fingers) Meteingeies, Meihtnige (hand) Wyhchaudg Wiihchandg, (finger nails)	Wunachgin (thou hand) Wikasch (fingers) -linsch, -linge (finger) Nachk (hand, my hand)	Nutcheg (hand) -nitch, -nutch (finger)	Onindj (his finger)	Nuluutz (hand) Namishka, Quulgaws (fingers)
52.	Kuttchawe(c) (I burn) Cutchow (to burn)	Skattewi (burning) Skusee (to light or ignite	Squtta* (fire) Chickoht (fire) Ukkutshaumun (it lightens)	Skootai(?) Ishkote Ashkote (fire)	
53.	Nepotatamen (I blow) Powtowhone (to blow)	Putawen (to blow) Putátamen (to blow as in starting a fire)	Nuppôô-pôô-tontowan (I blow)	Boda- (to do with blowing) Nin bodawe (I make fire)	

	Powhatan	Lenape	Natick	Otchipwe	Nanticoke
54.	Kecuttannowas (lightning, lit, he speaks) Kekuttun (to say or be said) Cutchow (to burn)	Sapiwagan Sasappele-helleu Sachapiwak (lightning, etc.) Gigitowalan (to speak with someone)	Ukkutshaumun (it lightens) Kutshamunat (lightning) Keketookau (he speaks)	Wassamowin Wassakwaam (lightning) Gigitomagad (it speaks)	Nekittowas (to speak) Tonqueah (lightning)
55.	Pokatawer Bocataw Boketaw (fire)	Poo-kqtees (a little junk of fire) Qualcheu (it smokes)	Pukketeau (there is smoke) Pohqut (a brand, fragment of wood)	Pakwéne Paskkine (there is smoke)	
56.	Tinda* (fire)	Tindey (fire	Nôôtau Nóte (domestic fire)	No cognate	Tunt (fire)
57.	Noughmass Nammais Namaske Nameche (fish)	Names (fish)	Namohs Namas Nammauus (fish)	Gigo (fish) Name- (stem for sturgeon, trout, sucker, carp)	Wammas (fish ?)
58.	Messetts Messeate (feet, the foot)	Wsit (foot)	Musseet (a foot)	Osidama (foot) Nisid (my foot)	Nist (prob. error for N'sit- my foot)

	Powhatan	Lenape	Natick	Otchipwe	Nanticoke
59.	Assimoest Ouxe (a fox)	Woakus W'halowes (gray fox, black fox) Woaxa-chey (fox skin)	Wonksis Wonkqussis (fox) Assamau (he feeds him) Oáus (animal, creature) Akwus (fox)	Wágosh (fox)	Wingeuchs (wolf)
60.	Arathkone Arrathcune Arocouns (raccoon) Essepannuwh (hard) Assapanÿk (squirrel?)	Náchenum Espan (raccoon) Nahanun	Aûsup (raccoon)	Essikan (raccoon) Essiban (wild cat)	
61.	Wehsacanoc Weiscannac animal fur or skin Wushaqwun (a tail)	Woaxachey (fox skin) Choi, Ches (pelt, skin)	Wussúkqun (a tail of animal)	Osow (a tail of animal)	
62.	Wing-apo (friend, good person)	Wing- (good, sweet, etc.) Wingan (good to taste)	Wunne- Wunnegan (it is good, abstract; good, concrete)	Mino- (good)	Wee-ett (good)

	Powhatan	Lenape	Natick	Otchipwe	Nanticoke
63.	Usqwaseins (a girl, probl. little girl)	Ochquetit (little girl)	Nunksquaes Squasese* (little girl)	Ikwesens (girl)	Nucksquah (son?) Pechquah (girl)
64.	Mangoite Manggoy (great) Mahgwaih (a great wind)	Amangi (big, great large)	Mogki, Mogke, Mukki (it is great	Mangishkamagad, Mangishika Makki (it is large) Mangademagad (it is wide)	Mauyaiu (great, big)
65.	Keiht- (great, big)	Kitt- (large, great)	Keht- (chief, or greatest)	Kitcho (great, big)	kuttanaiu (old)
66.	Mowchick, Moowichick, Mechik (a great deal, very much)	Mechek (great, large) Mecheli (much, many)	Mô͡ocheke (very)	Apitchi, kitchi Osám, ondijita (very, very much)	
67.	Rawerunnuwh (an old man, lit., this man is ?) Cuchenepo (woman old person?) Cakeres (a name for God; lit. elder, he is old?)	Mihhillosis (old man) Kikeyjumhet (elder) Kika͡i (old person) Kishele-mokon (creator, God)	Kehchis, Kutchissu (he is old) Hô͡mes (old man) Mahtauntam (he is old) Suppomantam (he lives long) Nukkuk quiyeu (he is old)	Akiwesi' (old man) Gekad (old person) Kitchi-, kit- (old) Gikáwin (very old age)	Kuttanaiu (old)

	Powhatan	Lenape	Natick	Otchipwe	Nanticoke
68.	Mantoac* (gods) Mannith (God)	Manitto	Manit, Manitto (that which exceeds, it is one who exceeds, i.e., God)	Kije-manito (the God)	Mannitt (God)
69.	Pyahtomaaon (to come to prayer)	Pa-oottáappe (shaman) Patamahana, Patamauwan, Patamao, (to pray to)	Peantamóonk (prayer)	Anamiewin (prayer) Bawadjigan (dream)	
70.	Kenah Kenagh (I thank you)	Genam (to thank) Anischick' (thanks)	Kutta botomish, Taubot neanaway-aen (I thank you)	Mignetch Ondijta Wondjita (thanks, I thank you)	
71.	Hana-haw, Anah, Anat' (farewell)	Wàngundin (to salute one another) Ang-gündin (all shake hands)	Nahónnushagk, Hawünshech, Wunnish (fare you well)	Anamikage- (greetings, I greet)	
72.	Kahangoc (a goose, actually geese)	Kaag, Kaak (wild goose)	Honck* (Honckock) Kohunk (pequot, goose)	Wéwe, nika, Obijashkissi (goose)	

	Powhatan	Lenape	Natick	Otchipwe	Nanticoke
73.	Attaskuss Attasqwus (grass, leaves weeds)	Askasqueu (it is green) Askiquall (grass)	Matasquas (a mat) Askosque (green) Oskosk (grass)	Mashkossiw (grass) Ashkin (it is raw)	Massequequise (grass)
74.	Pawcussack, Pocosack, Pacussac-an (a gun) (see Pocohaac) Paskeaw (to break with striking)	Paiachkhikan (gun)	Péskunck* (gun) Pohqunnum (he breaks it) Paskuhkan (he bursts it)	Páshkisigan (gun) Bok- (stem for breaking)	
75.	Mendabuccah, Mintabuckhan (Mintab-uckhan) (the head) Kawmduppaan (headache)	Wil (head)	Muppuhkuk (head) -on top (head, top)	Oshtigwánima (head) Nind indibe (I have such a head)	Nulahammou (the head)
76.	Yohacan, Yeahaukan (house, this house?) Wicomico (Wikamik?)	Yagawan, Wikwam (hut, house) Yakean (bark house)	Wétu (house) Weekitteaonk (a building) Puttuckakáun* (a round house)	Wákaigan, Wigiwam (house)	Youckhuck (house)
77.	Machicomuck, Machacammac (great house, temple)	Mawewigawan (meeting house) Miechasquiganik (cabin, covered with grass) Macheu (great, large)	Utmishik-komukqut (in a great house)	gamig (ending for for building)	

	Powhatan	Lenape	Natick	Otchipwe	Nanticoke
78.	Case, Keis (how many?) Tashoac (all is out)	Keechi? Kacha? (how many?)	Tohsu? (how much?) Tohsinash? (how many?)	Anninminik (how much, how many?)	
79.	Wiowah (husband)	Wiwu (hé is married, he copulates)	Weéwo* (a wife) Noh wetau asteadt (he who is married)	Onobemima, Wádigedinini, Widigemágan, Widimagan, Widjiwagan (husband)	Nee-eewah (wife) Niursoh, soh (husband?)
80.	Net, Ne Near, Neir, Noeragh, Nin, Nim (I, my)	Ni (I, my)	Nut Neen Nen N'- (I, my)	Nin Nind (I)	Nee (I) Nuck, Nick (my ?)
81.	Oreih (ice)	Mehokquami (ice) Kpatten (frozen over)	Kuppadt (ice)	Gibadin (it is frozen over) Mikwam (ice) Kipagadin (it is frozen thick)	

	Powhatan	Lenape	Natick	Otchipwe	Nanticoke
82.	Tacquacat (frost)	Tachquatten (frozen together) Tachkoten, Taquatten (frozen)	Taquáttin (it is freezin) Tohkoi, Tahki* (it is cold weather)	Takássin, Takate (it is cold)	Huhtagqu- guntzt (ice)
83.	Nechaun Nechan (a child)	Nitschan (my child)	Neechan (an offspring)	Ninidjaniss (my child)	Awauntet (infant, child)
84.	Nehapper (sit down) Nawpin (to sit down) Nahapuc (to dwell)	Achpin (to be there, to sit there) Lemattachpin (to sit down) Achpo (he is present)	Nutap (I sit) Nut appin (I sit down)	Nind Apabin (I sit on it) Nind Ab (I am at home)	
85.	Meskott Mescot (the leg) Muskin, Musket (to run)	Wihk'kaat (leg) Wiskatt (leg, archaic)	Muhkont (leg) Wuhkont (his leg)	Okádima (leg) Okád (his leg)	
86.	Nepaw weshoughs (moons)	Nipahum (the moon) Nipawi (by night) Wacheyek Wachejeu (light, brightness)	Nepáuzshad (the moon) Wequai (moonlight) Nanepaushadt (the moon)	Nibá- (night, at night) Nin nibaw (I stand up) Nibawiwin (standing) Wassa- (light) Nin nánibaw (I stand here and there, succeedingly)	Atupquo-nihauque (moon)

	Powhatan	Lenape	Natick	Otchipwe	Nanticoke
87.	Tapacoh Toppquough (night)	Tpoquik (by night) Tpoku (last night) Tpukuwe (last night)	Tuppaco* (toward night) Tuppaco (it is dark)	Tibikad Tibik- (night) Tibikak (at night)	Toopquow (night)
88.	Suckimma (new moon)	Sakima (chief, king)	Sohkom (he has the mastery, he prevails) Sachim (a ruler)	Sagima (a man knowing medicine well) Ogima (chief)	
89.	Kicke, Nek (his mother) (my mother)	Guka (mother) G'ichk (my mother)	Ókasoh (his mother) Nokas, nookas (my mother)	Kigá (his mother) Ningá (my mother) Ogi (mother)	Nicque (my mother)
90.	Mehtoan, Mettone Mehtoon (mouth)	Wdoon (the mouth) Shetoon (lip) doon (my mouth)	Muttôon (a mouth) Wuttôon (his mouth)	Odónima (mouth) Nindón (my mouth)	Huntowey (mouth)
91.	Matah Tah (no none) Tawhs (no more)	Matta Ta (no, not)	Matta Mat (no, negative)	Ka, kawin (not, no)	Mattah (no)

	Powhatan	Lenape	Natick	Otchipwe	Nanticoke
92.	Nethkeon (hose, prob. nose?) Meskew (the nose) Mehkewh (bill or beak)	Wikiwon (nose)	Mutchan (a nose) Wutchan (his nose) Nutchan (my nose)	Odángima (nose) Nindjanj (my nose)	Nickskeeu
93.	Cuttack, Cuttak (an otter, prob, another)	K'takan (another)	Onkatog (another)	Bejig, Nabané (the other)	
94.	Saquenuckot* (small animal, lit., water-one)	Gunammochk (otter; lit., long, beaver)	Nkeke (otter)	Nikig (otter)	Nowckkey (squirrel)
95.	Wekowehees, Wiihcutteis (hare) Mechun (hare?, lit., they eat)	Wihk'kaat (leg) Muschgingus, Moskimus Taschimamus (hare, rabbit) Mizin (he eats)	Mohtukquásog, Ogkoshquog, Tupsaás (Pequot) Wautuckques* (rabbit, coney) Um-meechin (he eats it)	Wabós (rabbit) Missábos (hare) Midjim (they eat it anything)	Timihauque (rabbit, hare)
96.	Kameyhan, Camzowan or Camrowan (rain) Arroquoth (sky ?, prob. stormy) Arrahgwotuwh, Arrahaquotuwh (the clouds)	Popetelan (rain showers) Sokelan (it rains) Kschilan (it rains hard) Allakquot (stormy, rainy) Niskelan (rainy weather)	Sokenunk (rain) Sokanon (rain) Onnoquat Anaquat* (raining) Nogkinnon (much rain)	Kimmiwun Gimiwan (rain, it rains)	Wemiou (rain)

	Powhatan	Lenape	Natick	Otchipwe	Nanticoke
97.	Quannacut Qwannancut (rainbow, lit., long mantle)	Kwanakat (it is long)	Ukquonoqquon (rainbow) Ukquan-auhaqut (he is in his long mantle)	Ginwégad (long stuff) Nagweiab, Odagwani-bissan (rainbow) Agwaj- (to cover one) Nind Agwin (I wear it)	
98.	Powghkone Poccoon (red, red paint, red dye, root broken into powder)	Pik- (stem for broken, knocked in) Pikat (in small places) Pékon (red dye)	Nup-poqun (I break) Pohqunnum (it is broken)	Bokwaii (a piece) Pak-, Bok- (breaking) Bokonigan (broken branches)	Pah'quun (turkey)
99.	Mish-cosk* (red) Mis-kis'su (paint) Musquas-penne (a blood red root)	Machkeu, Machke (red) Meechxit (the red one) Mehokqui- (blood, blood red)	Musqui Mishqu- (it is red) Musqué-heonk (blood)	Miskwa Miskwamagad (it is red) Miskwi (blood)	Psquoiu (msquoiu?)
100.	Yapam (sea)	Kit'ahíkan (great sea, ocean) Pomilliaach-tan (to go by water) Pomilachta (I go by water)	Ya ('ıither and thither) Pom, pum Pummoh (the sea, i.e., that which is everywhere in motion)	-gami (sea, body of water) Aw, (this) Panossim (sea dog)	Pumioije (star)

	Powhatan	Lenape	Natick	Otchipwe	Nanticoke
101.	Yocaauta, Yocaanta, Yeokanta (a river) -tuk, tik (tidal river?) -sipi (?) (long body of water or river)	Sipo, Sipu (river) -hittuck (rapid stream) -hanne (river ending)	Sép, Seep Sepu (long river) Tuk, Tuck-koo (broad river) Nippe kontu ([among the] water). Ya (hither and thither)	Sibi (river) Tigow (wave) Gand, gandi (signifies pushing, thrusting, pressing)	Pamptuckquash (river)
102.	Mawhcasuns, Mockasins, Mowcasunneh (shoes)	Machtsin, Machtschipak (moccasin) (shoes)	Mokkussin (shoe) Ummokus (his shoe)	Makisin (shoe)	Meckissius (Indian shoes)
103.	Tanx, Tanks (small, little) Tacqwassuw (short)	Tangetto, Tangitti (short, small) Tank- (little) Thaquetto (short)	Tióhqui, Tiuhque (it is short)	Tekosid (small person) Takwámagad (it is short)	Lamaisu (small, little) (Pamaisu?)
104.	Ascooc (snake)	Achgook (snake)	Askôok (snake)	Ginébig (snake)	Asquoke (snake)
105.	Sassacomuwah (adder)	Quischgumowe (viper, snake) Gwishkamówe (copperhead)	Sésekq (adder, rattlesnake)	Jinawe Jishigwe (rattlesnake, it rattles)	
106.	Coan (snow)	Guhn (snow)	Kôôn (snow)	Gón Agon (snow)	Quono (snow)

	Powhatan	Lenape	Natick	Otchipwe	Nanticoke
107.	Cattapeuk (spring)	Quitau (to sow) -apeek (time, season)	Qutta (to sow) Nompak (time when)	Kitigé (to sow) Neiab (again)	
108.	Assen- Assan -asun (rock, stone)	Assin, Achsin (stone) Esseni (strong, flinty)	Hassun (stone)	Assin (stone)	Kawscup Koshcop (stone, rock)
109.	Nepinough (the earing of their corn)	Nípen (summer)	Népun Nepinnae (summer)	Nibin (summer)	Mashaquapau-u (summer)
110.	Nepausche, Nepaushe (sun)	Nipachton (to raise) Nipai (to stand up) Nipawin (to stand up)	Nepáuz (sun, month)	Nin nibaw (I stand up) Nibawiwin (standing)	Aquiqua-queahquak (sun)
111.	Keshouse, Keskowghes (the sun) Keshawtewh (light)	Gischuch (sun,month) Gischachteu (it is light) Kishow (month in jargon)	Kesuk (the heavens) Kesu (it is warm)	Gisiss (sun, moon, month)	Wassaqui-tayw (light)

	Powhatan	Lenape	Natick	Otchipwe	Nanticoke
112.	Pettackqueth (thunder)	Pedhakquon (it thunders) Pedhakhon (thunder)	Padtohquohhan (it thunders)	Animikig (thunder) Bitakko- (to know something against something) Bodagosh- Botágadan (to crush, I stamp)	Tonqueah (lightning) Awahshuck (thunder)
113.	Apook, Uhpooc, Pooc (tobacco)	Hopoakan (pipe) Kschatey (tobacco)	Wuttooh-poomweonish Wuttamauog* Uhpooank (tobacco) Pooke, Poke (small kind of tobacco, that which is smoked.	Asséma (Tobacco) -pwa- (in comp. Pakwene (there is smoke)	
114.	Uhpoocan (tobacco pipe)	Hopoakan (tobacco pipe)	Hupuónck* Uhpuoonkash (tobacco pipe, pipes)	Opwágan (pipe)	
115.	Riapoke, Raiab Raib-uimauh (tomorrow, prob. Wiapak or Waiap)	Ayappa, Wapanke, Woapank, Waopaneu, Woapinge, (tomorrow)	Saup (tomorrow) Wonpag (daylight)	Wabang (tomorrow, adv.)	Allappahwee (tomorrow)

	Powhatan	Lenape	Natick	Otchipwe	Nanticoke
116.	Maxatsno, Maratsno (the tongue) (Menatano?)	Wilano (tongue)	Menan (the tongue) Wenan (his tongue) Wéenat*	Odenaniwama Denaniw (tongue)	Neeannew, ak (tongue)
117.	Mepit Neputts (the tooth, my tooth)	Wipit (tooth) Nipit (my tooth)	Meepit (tooth), Neepit, Weepit (my, his tooth)	Wibidama (tooth), Nibid (my tooth)	Naeput (tooth, pl?)
118.	Meitucks, Metucs (tree, bridge Aqwataneik (green tree)	Mehittuk (tree) hittuck	Mehtug, Mehtugg	Mitig (tree)	Peluicque (tree) Quaat (pinetree)
119.	Sucqwa, Sucqwahan, Suckahanna, (water), Secon (to spit) Nusseseqwus (to wet)	Suqui (spittle) Sukhamen (to spill) Sok-, Sog, Sook- (stem for water pouring, spilling, raining) Sook (I spit)	Sokenunk (rain) Sohkeii (it pours forth) Sokanon (water pours) Soohq (spit)	Ságiwan Nibi (water comes out) Sigaan-, Sigin- (to pour water) Sik- (to spit)	Mashaqua pau-u (summer; i.e., no water, rain time)

	Powhatan	Lenape	Natick	Otchipwe	Nanticoke
120.	Umpe* (water) Neppe (wet)	Mbi (water) bi (water)	Npi (Nippe, Nuppe, Nip) (water at rest)	Nibi (water)	Nip, Nep (water)
121.	Opaiuwh, Wop-poshaumosh* (white), Wopussouc (swan)	Woapeu Woapsu (white) Opsu (he is white)	Wompi (there is white) Wompiyéuo͡o (it is white) Wompiyéuash (white things)	Wábishka (it is white) Wábiginigáde (it is painted white) Wábisi (swan)	Wauppayu (white)
122.	Noungasse (a wife) Noungat (a doe) (?)	Nunscheach (she bear) Nunschetto (doe)	Nunksq Nunksqua (young woman) Nonkkishq (girl) Nunk-, Nonk- (light weight)	Nang- (light in weight) Non-, Nona- (sucking) Nonokasse (wren, honey bird)	Nucksqua (son ?)
123.	Popanow, Puppaannoh (winter)	Lowan (winter)	Pópon, Popanae (winter, in the winter)	Bibón (winter)	Poopponu (winter)
124.	Usquasum (a bitch)	Ochquechum (female of animal) Ochkwehum (same)	Squoshim Squásshim* Eshquashim (?) (four legged female)	Ikwe-aiaa (female of animals)	

	Powhatan	Lenape	Natick	Otchipwe	Nanticoke
125.	Kouppatke, Cuppeh (yes, yea or you truly)	Keh'pah (to do with closing) E - e, Eh, Eh (yes) Kupáha (to be closed)	Kuppi (it is closed) Ô or ÔÔ (nasal) (yes) Cuppíttous* (I understand you)	Giba- (to shut up) O, É, Ehn, (yes, aye)	Aamch (yes)
126.	Necut, Nekut (one)	Ngutti (one, first) Pasuk (one only)	Nequt (one, first) Pasuk (one only)	Payzhik, Bejig Ningo, Ningoto	Nickquit
127.	Ningh, Ninge (two, lit., prob. hand)	Nissa, Nischa, Nisha (two)	Nutchv́nitch (hand) Neese, nis (two) Neenash (pl. inanimate)	Nindj (hand) Nij (two) (Ninch in old Algonkin)	Naeez (two)
128.	Nuss, Nussaugh (three) Nuswo in word for 300)	Nacha (three) Nahá (three)	Nish, Nishwe, Nishweu (three, lit., in the middle)	Nisswi	Kisuhu (three) (Nisuhu ?)
129.	Yowgh, Yeough (four)	Nawo, Newo (four)	Yóh*, Yawwe, Yau (four, lit., "this, there")	Newu ? Niwin (four)	Yaugh (four)

	Powhatan	Lenape	Natick	Otchipwe	Nanticoke
130.	Paranske, Parnace, Porance (five)	Parenach (in Renapi) Palénach (five, lit., "on one side hand")	Nappana (five, lit., "on one side")	Nánan (five, lit., "gone")	Nuppaiu (five)
131.	Comotinch, Camatinge or Camatnige (six, lit., continuing finger ?) Tashoac (all is out; "It is added")	Guttasch (six, lit., "one added")	Qútta* (six) Nequtta-tahshe (six, lit., "one added")	Ningot-wásswi (six, lit., "one further")	Hoquuttal (six)
132.	Toppawoss (seven)	Nissas, Nischasch (seven) Nishash	Nessàusuk, Nessasuk, Énada (seven)	Nij-wásswi (seven, lit., "two added") Tupouwus (Tepu-awasswi = seven, lit., "pair added")	Myyaywah
133.	Nusswash, Nuschawus, Nuscawes (eight)	Haas, Hash Chasch, Khaash (eight)	Nishwò (?) (in the middle) Shwosuk (eight)	Nijwasi Nishwásswi (eight)	Tzah (eight)
134.	Kekatawgh, Kykeytawe (nine) Pach-ic-conk* (nine)	Pâèschun, Péschkonk (nine) Pechkunk (nine, lit., "coming near")	Paskoogun, Pasukoogun (nine, lit., "it comes near")	Jang, Jangasswi (nine)	Passaconque (nine)

	Powhatan	Lenape	Natick	Otchipwe	Nanticoke
135.	Kaskeke, Koske, Caische, Cosh* (ten, lit., finished) Geispun (to be full) Metatewh (all is out)	Thâerâen (Renapi) Téllen (ten) M'tellen (no more) Gischiechen (to be done) Kischi, Gishi (done, ready) Gispwe (to be full)	Piuk, Piog, Paiúk (ten) Kussi- Kes- (fully, completed) Kezheau (he completes)	Kwetch, Midásswi, Mitasui (?) (ten)	Millah (ten)

TABLE 2

Analysis of Powhatan, Lenape & Natick

1. A
2. A
3. E
4. H
5. I
6. A
7. F (but G also on other word)
8. A
9. G
10. A (?)
11. G
12. B
13. H
14. H
15. A
16. G
17. A
18. F
19. A
20. H
21. C
22. B
23. B
24. B
25. A
26. A
27. C
28. H
29. F (?)
30. E
31. B (?)
32. A
33. B
34. E
35. G (?)
36. H
37. F
38. A (?)
39. A
40. A
41. I
42. A
43. H
44. A
45. A
46. C (?)
47. A
48. A (?)
49. I
50. C (?)
51. H
52. G (?)
53. A (?)
54. H
55. F
56. E
57. A
58. A
59. E
60. [illegible]
61. F
62. B
63. C (?)
64. A
65. A
66. A
67. G
68. A
69. C
70. E
71. H
72. C (?)
73. A
74. H (?) (or A)
75. F
76. H (?)
77. A
78. E (?)
79. A
80. A
81. G
82. A
83. A
84. A (?)
85. B
86. A
87. A
88. A
89. A
90. A
91. A
92. F (?)
93. A (?)
94. H
95. H
96. G (?)
97. A
98. A

99. A
100. F
101. G (?)
102. F
103. E (also F)
104. A
105. A
106. A
107. A (?)
108. A
109. A
110. C
111. E
112. A
113. C
114. A
115. B (?)
116. G (?)
117. A
118. A
119. A
120. A
121. A(?)
122. F
123. F
124. A
125. D
126. A
127. D
128. F
129. F
130. E
131. G
132. G
133. F
134. A (?)
135. E

KEY:

A = all intelligible and equally close

B = all intelligible and equally close but P-L closest

C = all intelligible and equally close but P-N closest

D = all intelligible and equally close but L-N closest

E = only P-L intelligible

F = only P-N intelligible

G = only L-N intelligible

H = all unique or quite different

I = all alike except for T-L-N sound shifts

TABLE 3

Otchipwe Analysis

I. Key

P = Powhatan

L = Lenape

N = Natick

II. Analysis:

Otchipwe Intelligible with:

1.	P-L-N	21.	P-L-N (prob.)	41.	N
2.	P-L-N	22.	None	42.	P-L-N
3.	None	23.	P-L-N (?)	43.	None (?)
4.	P	24.	P-L-N (?)	44.	P-L-N (?)
5.	None	25.	None	45.	P-L-N (?)
6.	P-L-N	26.	None	46.	None
7.	None	27.	None	47.	P-L-N
8.	None	28.	P	48.	P-L
9.	None	29.	None	49.	None
10.	P	30.	N	50.	P-L-N
11.	L-N (?)	31.	P-L-N	51.	P-N (?)
12.	None	32.	P-L-N (?)	52.	P-L-N (?)
13.	P	33.	None	53.	P-L-N
14.	P-N	34.	None	54.	None
15.	None	35.	L-N	55.	None
16.	P	36.	L-N	56.	None
17.	P-L-N	37.	L	57.	P-L-N
18.	L	38.	P-L-N	58.	P-L-N
19.	P-L-N	39.	P-L-N (?)	59.	L
20.	None	40.	P-L-N	60.	None

61. None
62. None
63. P
64. P-L
65. P-L-N (?)
66. None
67. P-L-N
68. P-L-N
69. None
70. None
71. None
72. None
73. P-L-N
74. L
75. P-N (?)
76. L
77. P-L-N
78. None
79. None
80. P-L-N
81. P-N
82. P-L-N (?)
83. P-L-N
84. P-L-N (?)
85. P-L-N (?)
86. P-L-N
87. P-L-N
88. P-L-N
89. P-L-N
90. P-L-N
91. None
92. N
93. None
94. N
95. None
96. P
97. None (no L to compare)
98. P-L-N (?)
99. P-L-N
100. None (?)
101. P-L-N
102. P-N
103. P-N
104. None
105. None
106. P-L-N
107. None
108. P-L-N
109. P-L-N
110. P-L-N (?)
111. P-L-N (?)
112. None (?)
113. None
114. P-L
115. P-L-N (?)
116. None
117. P-L-N
118. P-L-N
119. P-L-N
120. P-L-N (? for L)
121. P-L
122. P-L-N
123. P-N
124. None
125. L-N
126. P-L-N
127. P-L-N
128. P-L-N (? for L)
129. L
130. None
131. P-L-N (?)
132. P
133. P
134. None
135. None (P is ?)

TABLE 4

Nanticoke Analysis

Nanticoke is intelligible with:

2.	P-N (?)	58.	P-L-N-O (?)	106.	P-L-N-O
5.	P (?)	59.	None	108.	None
6.	P-L-N-O	62.	None	109.	None
9.	None	63.	P-N (?)	110.	None
10.	None	64.	None	111.	None
11.	None	65.	P-L-N-O (?)	112.	None
13.	P-L-N-O	67.	None	115.	L (?)
15.	L (?)	68.	P-L-N-O	116.	None
16.	None	73.	None	117.	P-L-N-O
19.	P-L-N-O	75.	None	118.	None
20.	None	76.	P-L (?)	119.	?
21.	P-L-N-O	79.	P-L-N	120.	P-N-O
24.	P-L-N-O	80.	P-L-N-O	121.	P-L-N-O
26.	P-L-N	82.	None	122.	P-L-N (?)
29.	P-N (?)	83.	None	123.	P-N-O
34.	None	86.	P-L-N-O (?)	125.	None
35.	None	87.	P-L-N-O	126.	P-L-N
36.	None	89.	P-N	127.	L-N
37.	None	90.	None	128.	P-N-O (?)
39.	None	91.	P-L-N	129.	P-N
40.	P-L-N-O	92.	P	130.	N
43.	None	94.	None	131.	L-N
44.	None	95.	None	132.	None
45.	P-L-N	96.	None	133.	None
47.	P-L-N-O	98.	P-L-N (?)	134.	P-L-N
48.	None	99.	None (?)	135.	None
49.	None	100.	None		
50.	P-N-O	101.	P-N (?)		
51.	None	102.	P-N-O (?)		
56.	P-L	103.	None		
57.	P-L-N-O (?)	104.	P-L-N		

FOOTNOTES

1 I am suggesting that we use the word "Manitowinini" (Manito-person or "Creative Power" person) to replace "Algonkian." The latter term has no meaning and is constantly confused with the name of a particular sub-group, the Algonkin or Algonquin.

2 Nishnabe (Nish-naw-bay) is the Otchipwe word for Indian. Nishnabek is the plural.

3 Manitowininiwok is the plural form, replacing "Algonkians." Manitowininiwok means "Manito Peoples" or "Creative Power Peoples."

4 Wapanakamikok, meaning "Eastern Country People" or "Morning-Direction Country People" will be used to refer to all of the Manitowininiwok living along the Atlantic Seaboard in the United States.

5 I originally hoped to use Gallatin's word-lists from various Manitowinini languages in order to make comparisons on a wider basis, but I soon realized that many of Gallatin's sources were defective.

6 I have tried, however, to avoid the use of words with the same root or stem (radical) more than once, except in a few cases.

7 See William Wallace Tooker "Some Powhatan Names," in American Anthropologist, n.s., V. 6, No. 3, pp. 670-694, and William R. Gerard, "The Tapehanek Dialect of Virginia," in Ibid, n.s., V. 6, No. 2, pp. 313-330.

8 My analysis has shown that at least 80% of Pamptico words are the same as Powhatan and most of the balance of Pamptico words are likely to have been present in Powhatan.

9 John P. Harrington, "The Original Strachey Vocabulary of the Virginia Indian Languages," Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 157; Louis B. Wright and Virginia Freund, editors, William Strachey, The History of Travel into Virginia Britania (London: Hakluyt Society, 1953); and also see the various versions of the words of John Smith.

10 The sources which I have used for Leni-Lenape, Natick, and Otchipwe are Daniel G. Briton and Albert Seqaqkind Anthony, A Lenape-English Dictionary, (Philadelphia: The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1888), James H. Trumbull, "Natick Dictionary," Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 25, 1903, and R.R. Bishop Barage, A Grammar and Dictionary of the Otchipwe Language (Montreal: Beachemin & Valors, 1882). Mrs. Nora Thompson Dean, of Dewey, Oklahoma, also went over the Lenape list and added some modern Lenape forms and corrected errors for me, in Nov. 1972.

[11] R frequently appears in Strachey and Smith's lists as an initial sound, however, it is apparent that w is usually called for. R is also found at the end of words where no consonant should be. Apparently, in both cases the English thought they "heard" an r, much as the late John F. Kennedy said "Cuber" for Cuba. R is also used occasionally for w in the terminations of verbs.

[12] J. Hammond Trumbull, Historical Magazine, 1870, V. VII, 2nd ser., p. 46, quoted in Tooker, op. cit., p. 671; and J. Hammond Trumbull, "Note on Forty Versions of the Lord's Prayer in Algonkin Languages," Transactions of the American Philogical Association, 1872, V. III-IV, p. 119.

[13] Harrington, op. cit., p. 195.

[14] Frank T. Siebert Jr., "Certain Proto-Algonkian Consonant Clusters," pp. 298-303, and C. F. Voegelin, "Proto Algonquian Consonant Clusters in Delaware," pp. 143-147, in Language, V. XVII, 1941.